133 When I now attempt to describe the inhabitants of Urundi, the Barundi (1), the following question must first be briefly

[104]
[194]

1. In the spelling of Barundi, Bahima, Batussi, Bahutu, Batwa, Baganda, Banjoro, Banjaruanda, Banjankole, etc., I am following the example of J. Czekanowski (Nos. 38 and 48). In this connection, it should be noted that the phonetic value of this b is often close to our w i.e., an English v and in correct phonetic terms might be more clearly transcribed by a v specially marked, but for the purpose of my study the common b corresponds more closely to the orthography of the tribes between the lakes. On the other hand, one must write Wanjamwesi, Wasukuma, Waschaschi, etc., since these tribes pronounce the w in all clarity.

answered: What does the country look like, the soil which supports and nourishes the people and upon which its economic, social, and political life takes place? Urundi is a mountainous country, the southern part of the interlacustrine region to which belong Ruandā in the north, the Kisiba states and Uha in the east, and in the south also Uha and part of Ujiji. On all sides Urundi has good natural boundaries: in the north the rivers Akanjaru and Kagera, in the east the long plateau sloping down toward Uha, in the south the upper course of the Malagarasi, in the west Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. To the north the region has a broad front toward Ruanda, while to the south it tapers off in wedge-shaped form to Lake Tanganyika.

In its geological structure Urundi is divided into two large regions whose landscapes differ. The larger eastern part is a section of the Paleozoic slate and quartzite plateau (Plate 26) probably belonging to the Cape formation. This plateau covers almost the entire interlacustrine region. The narrower, tapering

198 use of a special Kirundi terminology (No. 18, p. 1; cf. also above, p. 124).

The characteristic features of Kirundi are as follows:
193 1. absence of gender; 2. absence of declension, but nouns are grouped into classes and have special prefixes for singular and plural; 3. the parts of a sentence are governed by the nouns by means of certain prefixes or characteristic syllables (No. 18, p. 2).

All nouns can be divided into ten classes. Certain nouns are doubled in order to intensify the meaning or to give an expression a connotation of familiarity. Like all Bantu languages, Kirundi has very few adjectives; it uses instead participial forms of verbs, nouns, generic concepts, etc.

The most difficult aspect of Kirundi is the structure and system of the verb. It is true the verb as such is simple and its construction and use are logical, but the number and variety of forms is so great that it is extremely difficult to find equivalents for a Kirundi verb form in a European language. There are, for example, base forms, auxiliary forms, conjunctive forms, passive, conditional, causative, oppositional, restrictive, and other forms, altogether more than fifty (No. 18, pp. 32-33). On the other hand, the number of conjunctions is very small; most of them are expressed by auxiliary verbs. Since the Murundi will drop even these if they are not absolutely essential for conveying the meaning, sentences are short, and their manner of speech sounds choppy. If a Murundi were to understand an elegant German or even Latin sentence, he would translate it into at least ten sentences of Kirundi.

In addition to the shortness of the sentences, rapidity of
● 194 speech is also characteristic of the Barundi. The Banjaruanda, on the other hand, speak much more slowly with a somewhat [148] singing intonation. Accent, i.e., stressing a particular syllable or pronouncing it on a certain pitch, is very important for the meaning of a word. This also applies to whole sentences. A European who does not pay express attention to these factors will therefore often misunderstand a Murundi or be misunderstood by him, even if otherwise he speaks and understands Kirundi quite well. As a general rule, the syllable next to the last one in a word is stressed longer [sic] then the others, i.e., as in

194 German. In order to avoid harshness in the sound and pronunciation of words, the Murundi never permits an uninterrupted succession of two consonants or two vowels in the same syllable; he separates the consonants by a vowel and the vowels by a consonant or by the elision of one of the vowels.

191 However, in addition to the Kirundi which is generally spoken in Urundi, there is also a vulgar and sacral Old Kirundi.
192 Its use is limited, and wherever it is spoken only fragments of it are mixed with modern Kirundi. The Barundi have two, three, or more terms for most objects and concepts; some belong to the elegant conversational language, others to the vulgar manner of speech of Old Kirundi which is used by the common people, old women, and also by the Batwa whenever they are among themselves (No. 19, p. 330), and it is found in the religious hymns, festive chants, and ceremonial speeches (see pp. 70,
198 124, 128). In Ruanda there is also a secret ritual language called "lubandwa" (No. 48, p. 315), and there is a similar language called "luchwesi" in Ussuwi (No. 24, p. 57).

197 In Old Kirundi the roots of nouns and verbs and their in-
191 flection are quite different from modern Kirundi. They are also unlike those of any other Bantu language. Presumably Old Kirundi is the original language of the Batwa who have been living in these highlands longer than anyone else. The immigrants who arrived later learned this language from the Batwa and at present use it either separately in addition to their own idiom or intermingled with it. Of course, the Batwa speak modern Bantu Kirundi in addition to their original language (No. 18, pp. 106-107).

192 Here are a few examples to illustrate the three linguistic elements which co-exist in Urundi:

197

| Word | Kitwa | Old Kirundi | New Kirundi |
|---|---|---|---|
| sun | irijotwa | irijotwa | isuba |
| moon | ukurabwa | ukurabwa | ukwesi |
| leopard | uwuhama | uwuhama | ingwe |
| sorghum | ururerema | ururerema | isakka |
| to hunt | kutamagisa | kutamagisa | kuhiga |
| to forge | kunaga | kunagura | kususa |

197 the language of the Nandi in the Uganda protectorate. The language of the Nandi, of all the languages of East Africa, seems to resemble most closely the pure Hamitic language type since the Nandi probably are the remnants of a former Galla invasion. (A. W. Crabtree, "The Languages of the Uganda Protectorate," Journal of the African Society, January, 1914, pp. 158 ff.)

194 An exact study of the peculiar manner in which the Batussi speak the Bantu idiom, Kirundi, will also yield many intimations and indications in this respect, for it is obvious even to an observant layman that the Batussi differ from the Bahutu in speaking Kirundi. They have a different accent, pronounce certain sounds differently, and combine the syllables differently. In general, it seemed to me that in both Ruanda and in Urundi the Batussi speak Kirundi with a much softer intonation and also that they have a tendency to swallow the vowels of the final syllables. Instead of the 's' or 'ss' pronounced by the Bahutu, they use a very soft 'sch' or 'dsch': instead of Munjahasi they say Munjahasch'; instead of Lanongo, Lanong'; instead of Lubassa, lubasch'. It is also often difficult to say whether the final vowel pronounced is an 'a,' or 'e.' It is also difficult to hear the difference in the pronunciation of 'r,' 'l,' and 'd.'

113 It would serve no purpose to list examples of modern Kirundi at this point since one may consult the comprehensive Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi by Father J. M. van der Burgt and the small Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi et Kirundi-Français by Father F. Ménard which is specifically intended for missionary use (No. 29). Van der Burgt reproduces a few examples of stories, fables, songs, and hymns with an interlinear translation in his Dictionnaire, pp. 96, 292-293, 332-334, 339-342; I myself cannot add anything to them. In conclusion, however, I should

539 like to add a few proverbs which are noteworthy for their sharpness of observation and brevity of expression (No. 19, p. 470).

[150] 1) Ivintu vy'ukwibwa viraguma.
Things of no interest (are) hard [to comprehend].

167 Barundi [Rundi]. Bashi or Bahunde are the terms the Bagoye use
101 in referring to the people from Bunyabungu, Itambi, Buyungu,
Kishari, Butundwe, and even Bgisha, with whom they can easily
make themselves understood. The first designation supposedly
[194] alludes to the sibilants which are so prominent in their dialect.
In their culture the Bashi also show many similarities with the
Congo Bantu. Thus, the anthropological and cultural transition
to the Forest Bantu takes place within the Kirundi language area.
The similarity of the Bahutu who were not influenced by the Batutsi
to the Forest Bantu argues in favor of the view that the population
of Ruanda is the result of a metamorphosis caused by contact with
the Batutsi.

563 [130] Batwa. The Batwa comprise the third element in the
144 population of Ruanda. They stand out because of their relatively
small stature. The contrast between them and the very tall Batutsi
is so striking that the altogether erroneous identification of Batwa
with Pygmies has gained credence even among such an outstanding
expert on the country as Dr. Kandt. (1) I have taken a great many

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 303.

measurements, and I am forced to conclude that this assumption is
not valid. I agree with Lieutenant Von Parisch (2) who found that

[113]

2. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda, 1902 to 1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

the Batwa were only slightly shorter than the Bahutu.
Prof. Hans Meyer (3) made the same observation. He says:

3. Travel Reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 349.

563
266
[113]

Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa From East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 233.

7. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

[131] My research has led me to the same conclusion. The Pygmies of the Ituri Forest are not cannibals, as is well known. This is the chief difference between them and all their neighbors.

411 Like the Forest Bantu the Batwa are said to put traps and poisoned thorns on their paths and to guard them with poisoned hand darts. They also use a bow with a rattan string. Otherwise the Batwa differ very little from the Banyaruanda in their material culture. I shall speak of this in more detail later.

197 Whether the Batwa have their own language must be left as an open question. The Kitwa ["Ki-," a prefix indicating a language] words collected by Father J. Van der Burgt (1) are

[113]

1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Eléments d'une Grammaire Kirundi [Elements of a Kirundi Grammar]. Supplement. Langue des Watwa (kitwa)-Pygmées [The Language of the Watwa Pygmies, Kitwa]. Mitteilungen aus dem Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin 1902, Section III, Afrikanische Studien [African Studies], pp. 79-108.

familiar in Ruanda and are said to belong to an archaic local dialect of Kirundi.

194 Father L. Classe (2) points out that the Batwa have difficulty

2. Classe, Father L., Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 414.

194 pronouncing 's' and that their speech is more aspirated. However, I noticed this not only among the Batwa but also among the true Pygmies on the Ituri. Father Classe says that their language
197 seems to be midway between Kigwe (Kisukuma), Runyambo, Ruziba, and Luganda. In other words, it is a dialect of the inter-lacustrine group.

Father P. Barthelémy told me that the Batwa who accompanied him on his trip up the volcano spoke an idiom among themselves which was unfamiliar to him. He could not say whether this was a northern dialect similar to Ruhunde or a separate language.

563 Although everyone finds it disgusting to eat with a Mutwa,
186 the latter despises the Muhutu who must till his field and go about his daily chores with a bent back. The free Mutwa hunter from the forest in turn despises the Batwa living in the villages whose chief occupation is pottery. He calls them, scornfully, banyamikenke, "sons of the grass". (3)

3. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

563 The Forest Mutwa is very proud of his unrestricted way of
674 life and his independence. He regards the forest as his property in which he has completely free rein, and he feels that the robbing of intruders who cross the forest borders is his sacred right. He defends his forest from intruders just as the Muhutu does his fields.

Even the Bahutu acknowledge this right of the Batwa to a certain extent. They allow themselves to be robbed in the primeval forest without offering the least resistance, for they maintain that without [132] the consent of the Batwa they would not even get out of the forest. This is quite possible, since the hunters are so well oriented in the forest that they could find ample opportunity to ambush and shoot their victims.

563 Despite these advantages, the Batwa's struggle against the
311 encroaching Bahutu is completely hopeless. The dreaded hunters are being pushed back everywhere by the farmers. With the